

## Wilson at the Conference

By Frank H. Simonds

PARIS, Jan. 24.—Unmistakably the peace conference is approaching a crisis, the first, perhaps, of many, but no less a real crisis. This is not the result of the development of irreconcilable views of any open or secret disagreement. There has been none, and, in my judgment, there will be none. Nothing is more likely, viewed from present conditions, than that from start to finish the conquerors of Germany will continue to act in cooperation and with unbroken harmony. Irreconcilable disagreements will not become national or personal. It is possible to dismiss in advance rumor and reports of altercations, of ultimata and of all similar circumstances. Britain, France and the United States, the three great powers, cannot be separated by any question which may arise.

### Approaching Crisis

### Born of Good Feeling

By contrast, the crisis which approaches grows out of good rather than ill feeling. In France, Italy and England the coming of President Wilson was hailed by the mass of the people, by the little people as contrasted with the politically or socially great, as the promise of a new era. Mr. Wilson was welcomed in no small sense as the savior of society, as the guarantor of a new world. There was, at most, a difference only in degree in Rome, London and Paris.

The consequence was to give Mr. Wilson a position almost unique in history. He had, and I think he retains, the power wielded by Bismarck at the conference of Berlin—although it flows from far different sources—and no single man at the congress of Vienna had comparable influence. It was, and in a measure it remains, the expectation of great masses of European peoples that Mr. Wilson is to bring durable peace to the world. He has become a figure quite unlike that of Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando, who, after all, are mortals known as such to millions; but Mr. Wilson is a symbol rather than a man.

### Wilson Passes First

### Test Satisfactorily

In this situation the temptations are manifold and tremendous, yet I think it would be the general consensus that the President has acted with admirable self-restraint. The first awkward moment when it remained to be disclosed whether he came as Caesar or as a conferee went off satisfactorily. Millions of people welcomed him with an enthusiasm which gave him obvious power, but he made no effort to use that power unfairly, unreasonably or, so far, at all.

Thus, in a sense, after the first period of action the President disappeared from the public which had welcomed him. He was lost to view—and this is the point—thereafter nothing has happened of all things which were most expected and are most desired. What the President thought, what he seeks, what his views are on the main questions remain unknown, not save by a few, but unknown to any single individual in France. On some, but by no means all important questions, his views are suspected and that is all.

Now, I do not think any one can exaggerate the longing of the people of the nations who have fought this war for peace for a return to the old conditions and conveniences of life, for an end not merely to the horrors of fighting but to the only less real horrors of the existing twilight zone between war and peace. In France, in Britain, in Italy, there are discomforts, hardships; there is a measure of suffering and millions of men still under arms desire to go home, while in Eastern Europe famine exists and increases day by day.

The conditions of ordinary life pass description even in Western Europe. One pays enormously for little, not merely the foreigner but also the native. Food is dear, scarce, unsatisfactory. Railway transportation is haphazard. Mails are infrequent. In sum, order and organization have as a consequence of the war gone out of life. The grimmest and the most intimate personal problems press upon all people, and as the pressure grows their interest, even in a thing as important as the peace conference, diminishes.

### Decision, Not Debate, Asked of Conferences

The reaction from these conditions is the ever growing demand that there shall be decision, not debate, in the peace conference. The world is beginning to demand some peace, any peace rather than a perpetuation of the present condition, and in this situation the President, whose word would be of compelling force, says nothing, has said nothing. If he has

miracles, many may be disappointed; but I do not believe there is any reason to fear another Congress of Berlin, much less another Congress of Vienna.

The day-to-day routine of the conference has not yet acquired real value. The great decisions are still to be made; the unmistakable differences remain to be ironed out. All that has been done is in a very real sense perfunctory, but the way in which it has been done is encouraging. If the conference has it in its power to avoid the mistakes of the past, it has avoided taking steps which might involve the surrender of principles.

**Dangers of Any Break Have Become Remote**

If it has so far been conservative it has at no time been reactionary, and has steadily shown a recognition and an appreciation of the dangers of any reactionary course. In my judgment the great powers as represented at Paris are nearer together than they were two months ago, and the dangers of any break have become remote.

Yet at last I return to the point at which I began. Mr. Wilson's greatest opportunity remains, but in a sense it is passing; Europe wants peace and hopes for the millennium; it is ready to accept his leadership in an unexpected degree, but it is beginning to ask whether he has a plan. Abstract principles must soon be translated into concrete applications, and so far Mr. Wilson has refrained from giving a sign not merely to Lloyd George and Clemenceau, but even to the amiable Mr. Lansing.

So much has been gained and it will hardly be lost. We shall harvest very much of that crop and in my judgment will remain glad that the President came; but to-day the world, the European world at least, finds itself beginning to be anxious—a shade impatient as it sees the hope of definite results postponed. I repeat this postponement is not due to irreconcilable differences of opinion nor to quarrels over principles or provinces. Such differences will all be settled without quarrel because every one is determined to settle them that way. The cause is the apparent lack of programme.

### Speedy Action Halted By League of Nations

It is not, then, differences over national claims; it is not the demands of France in Germany or of Italy in Austria which block the way. Imponderable rather than tangible obstacles are holding us back, and chief among these is the present status of the league of nations. England and France have accepted the President's double determination—first, that there should be a league and, second, that it should be created by the treaty of peace rather than postponed to a later conference. But neither England nor France—nor America, for that matter—has yet arrived at any coherent idea of what Mr. Wilson's view of a league of nations is. His is a plan? Presumably—but no one knows. Will he announce it? Perhaps, but who can say?

And so the situation becomes more and more puzzling because, like all human gatherings, the peace conference in Paris seeks a leader, and up to the present hour the man whom circumstances have marked for that rôle gives no sign of the direction which he believes should be taken.

I desire to warn my American readers against accepting sensational reports of growing national differences. I do not think any one can exaggerate the fundamental good feeling which exists in England and in France, incidentally in the official world, but more strikingly amid the masses of the population, for the President personally and as the representative of his country.

We are three distinct nations with totally different manners and methods, no longer associated in a common struggle against the enemy—a situation in which all differences of manner vanish before the same conception of duty. Instead we are engaged in striving to exist, and our conditions are equally hard on both sides of the national fences; all the little latent prejudices come to the surface; the heroes, alas, have become quite ordinary human beings. You may hear in every corridor, in every restaurant gossip, half truths and truths of no significance, brought forward to prove that everything in Paris marches toward discord and failure.

### Peace Conference Like Our National Convention

But all this is the small beer of the thing. A peace conference is like a national convention in our politics. The convention has a single function. It must nominate a ticket; if it fails the election will be lost; therefore, without exception, conventions nominate. They frequently begin with every sign of collapse. There are opening days of rival booms and conflicting platform proposals. But at a certain point harmony comes out of discord. And it will be the same in Paris for the same reason. The delegates to this convention will not attempt to go home without a treaty of peace in their pockets.

Again, there is a superficial sense of disappointment that a conference designed, at least in the public mind, to bring about an enduring peace and a new order in the world is engaged endlessly in the discussion of territorial rivalries and trade jealousies.

All these things are here and unmistakable, but idealism is not lacking either. Beyond all else there is a clear perception in the minds of the official and even more in the minds of the unofficial, representatives of the various nations that a new spirit is stirring in their own constituencies. Expecting

## Hurley to Return With New Facts On Ship Problem

### Data on Merchant Marine Obtained in Europe. He Says, Will Help Clear Up the American Situation

PARIS, Jan. 28.—Edward N. Hurley, head of the Shipping Board, announced to-day his intention to return to the United States on the Levathan when she sails again from France.

Mr. Hurley said he felt the American people had determined to have and to maintain a merchant marine sufficient in size to make it certain they would not be dependent on shipping of other nations for their foreign trade, and that the demand for such a shipping programme was virtually unanimous.

As soon as the armistice was signed, he continued, he had recognized that a great many questions would arise in connection with the American shipping programme that would require first-hand knowledge of the other nations engaged in shipping, and he had come to Europe in this connection.

Mr. Hurley said now that the war pressure had been relieved, Americans and others interested with them in shipping under American registry were anxious for definite information to settle three main questions, as follows:

What is the character and extent of the government construction programme? What is the plan for continuing government operation? If government operation is to be discontinued, on what basis will the ships be operated privately, and to what extent will government control be maintained?

**Question of Type Important**

Collateral to these questions, but also of great importance, he declared, are those that relate to the future construction programme as to the number and type of ships to be built, and whether certain types of ships already constructed shall be authorized for foreign account.

Mr. Hurley also said that within the last sixty days he had secured much information on the construction programme, operating problems and general plans of the other maritime powers, and the information had particular reference to questions now under discussion in the United States. He feels that as a result of his investigations he will be able to present data which should be of great assistance in determining the best future policy for the American merchant marine.

Some of the other maritime powers, Mr. Hurley added, have intimated that the United States will have many difficulties in constructing and maintaining a merchant marine, but his investigations did not lead him to believe those difficulties in any sense insuperable; in fact, he was convinced that a construction and operation programme could and will be developed which would give to the United States what her people desired.

### Private Management Urged for U. S. Marine

Members of the Traffic Club at their dinner last night at the Waldorf-Astoria adopted resolutions calling upon the government to inquire into the advisability of constructing further tonnage under the present shipping programme which was drafted for war emergencies.

The resolutions also state "It is the belief that private ownership and management are necessary to the growth and successful management of our merchant marine" and urge revision of laws so that the crew expense of American vessels will not be so large as to prevent them from entering into competition with ships of foreign nations.

Before the resolutions were passed W. W. Campion, chairman of the club's committee on ship building progress, said that the net loss to the world's tonnage during the war was 600,000 tons and that a lot of this would have been replaced before the end of this month.

## French 'Watch on Rhine' Forever, Says Gouraud

COBLENZ, Jan. 28. (By The Associated Press).—Supporting Marshal Foch's opinion that the French should remain on the Rhine, General Gouraud, under whom the Americans fought in the Champagne, made a similar declaration to the American correspondents whom he had invited to luncheon at his quarters in Strasbourg.

"The Americans will go home when peace is declared, and the British will go home when peace is declared, but the French will remain on the Rhine as a strategic barrier," he said.

"It would never do, after the sacrifices of the great war, to leave open points where Germany might again some day strike."

## Allies Repulse Reds' Attack At the Dvina

Continued from page 1

Bolsheviks attacked Shenkursk "the Whites fled."

On the southern front, about 60 versts north of Tzaritzin, the message says, "our detachments occupied Davidovka, forcing the enemy back to Malayaivunovka."

STOCKHOLM, Jan. 28.—Premier Lenné, according to a report from Reval, has ordered the Bolshevik troops to retake the town of Narva from the Estonians within a week, to sack the town and to kill all the bourgeoisie. Lenné is reported to be staying in the town of Yamburg, east of Narva.

### Allied Loss at Shenkursk Small, U. S. Envoy Says

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28.—A dispatch to the State Department to-day from Charge d'Affaires Hoole at Archangel describing the evacuation of Shenkursk by American, Allied and Russian troops in the face of superior Bolshevik forces said the retreatment was accomplished successfully; that the troops were in good condition and their losses very small. About 500 civilians were being cared for by the military organization.

### Abbey to Honor Roosevelt

LONDON, Jan. 28.—A memorial service for Colonel Theodore Roosevelt is planned for Westminster Abbey at a date not yet fixed. Such a service for a foreigner is extremely rare.

The uncertainty about the date is owing to the desire of Premier Lloyd George to postpone the service until the new Parliament is in session, so all the members may attend. The Duke of Connaught, an old friend of Colonel Roosevelt, acted for the Premier in obtaining the use of the Abbey for the service.

While all arrangements are not yet perfected it is expected that King George and Queen Mary will attend. The Archbishop of Canterbury probably will officiate.

## Nearly 200,000 Idle in Strikes In British Isles

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Gravediggers joined the strike on Monday.

Alexander Thompson, editor of the Socialist Labor newspaper, "Clarion," reviewing present industrial unrest for "The Mail," writes:

"The new Labor Minister, Sir Robert Stevenson, whose sincere sympathy with labor's desire for improved conditions in life has very favorably impressed leaders of the trades unions, cannot but be aware of the helplessness in dealing with the grave problems assailing him on his entrance to office."

"None of the present strikes has been authorized by the executives of the unions involved, and all are contrary to official advice. Therefore, it is obviously impossible for Sir Robert to interfere. It is his policy as Labor Minister to support trades union executives, as any other action would only weaken their authority and strengthen the hands of those who have disobeyed instructions."

### No Change on the Clyde

There is no change in the situation on the Clyde, where 20,000 shipyard workers are out, nor in London, where 10,000 ship repairers are striking, and have refused an offer to refer the question of wages to a committee.

To these must be added 23,000 Fife-shire miners, 6,000 South Wales miners, 5,000 Edinburgh shipwrights, 1,000 Manchester dockers, 4,000 South Wales shipyard men and a number of Glasgow municipal workers.

Except in London, where the question at stake is one of wages, all these strikes are due to a demand for shorter hours, with the same privileges and wages as prevailed when longer hours were worked.

### Strikers Attack Shops

BELFAST, Jan. 28.—Strikers attacked shops here last night, seeming to centre their assaults on stores showing lights.

One large store, which generates its own electricity and was brilliantly illuminated, was stoned by the mob. The shop windows were smashed and women's clothing exhibited there was carried away. In another district a saloon was broken open and liquor was taken by the mob.

Police who were dispersing rioters were fired upon, but at last succeeded in restoring order.

### Rail Strike Leader Arrested in Paris: Unions Make Protest

PARIS, Jan. 28.—Following the "minute strike" on the Paris, Lyons and Mediterranean Railway on Saturday, Leon Midol, secretary of the Paris, Lyons and Mediterranean Union, was arrested, the railroad still being operated by the military authorities. He will be court-martialed. An account of the incident published in the "Matin," which shows two black spaces where it was censored, says that other arrests are imminent.

The news aroused the headquarters of the National Railroaders' Union, and a delegation called at the office of Premier Clemenceau yesterday. The Premier was absent, and the union delegation will call again to-day. Minister Clavelle received a delegation of Socialist Deputies yesterday, his department having authority over railroads. A vigorous protest was made according to "Humanite," the delegation pointing out to M. Clavelle that the methods he adopted in the matter were not without danger.

A strike of electrical workers which

it had been expected would be called to-night was averted. The power companies agreed to negotiate with their men.

### Rosa Luxemburg Said To Be Alive and in Hiding

COPENHAGEN, Jan. 28.—A Munich dispatch to the "Post-Zeitung" reports that it has been learned from "reliable sources" that Rosa Luxemburg, who was reported to have been shot and killed on January 15 in Berlin, is alive and is at the house of a friend, where she will be concealed until she has an opportunity to escape from the German capital.

### 49 Ships Held Up by Buenos Ayres Strike

BUENOS AYRES, Jan. 28.—Buenos Ayres has been isolated for twenty-five days by the port strike, which prevents entrance of transatlantic steamships. Forty-nine vessels were anchored in the roads today. It is feared they will proceed to Montevideo to unload.

These vessels alone could export a sixteenth part of the exportable crops, while an eighth of the crops could have been moved if this number were added to the cargo carriers which have been diverted from this trade during the month because of the strike.

The loss to the strikers and shipowners alone is estimated by the newspapers at more than 10,000,000 pesos (\$2,448,000). The loss to the country is impossible to estimate. The loss in customs has been 500,000 pesos daily.

Three thousand cigarette and cigar workers struck to-day, paralyzing the industry.

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MINK WRAP	Formerly \$3,000	now \$1,750
MINK COAT	Formerly \$2,000	now \$1,000
MOLE & HUDSON SEAL COAT	Formerly \$875	now \$575
MOLE WRAP	Formerly \$1,350	now \$850
MOLE COAT	Formerly \$950	now \$750
CARACUL COAT	Formerly \$950	now \$675
CARACUL COAT	Formerly \$850	now \$550
BROADTAIL & HUDSON SEAL COAT	Formerly \$950	now \$650
NUTRIA WRAP COAT	Formerly \$800	now \$575
HUDSON SEAL CAPE COAT	Formerly \$650	now \$450
HUDSON SEAL COAT	Formerly \$750	now \$475
TAUPE CARACUL & HUDSON SEAL SHORT COAT	Formerly \$495	now \$300
SHORT HUDSON SEAL COATEES	Formerly \$350	now \$250
SHORT MARMOT COATS, Australian Opossum trim	Formerly \$195	now \$100

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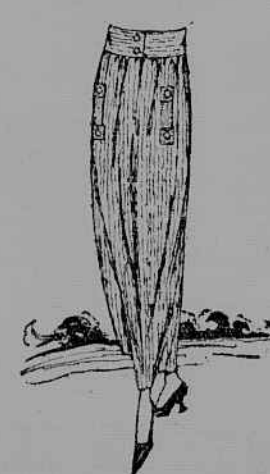
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